128 view with regard to procreation and birth, and the socially recognized union of man and woman.

844 We may begin by noting some common features in the
585 Bororo attitudes toward birth and marriage. Though these may be very important events in the life of one individual or family, the society at large ignores them. There is much excitement going on in the families involved, but these two changes of status (if birth may be called such for the new
782 born child) do not affect the rest of the society. Compar-
533 ative analysis of the Bororo ceremonies reveals that whenever there is an appeal to, or invocation of, spiritual beings the ceremony will be preceded and followed by singing. Outside
533 of this religious context the Bororo do not sing. The only
772 exception to this is that the Bororo sometimes sing Brazilian
177 songs when they are drunk. In this respect birth and marriage are not religious ceremonies—no spirits are invoked, no songs sung. This contrasts sharply with the other changes of status which are considered significant by the Bororo viz.,
553 naming, initiation, and death. In anticipation of a more
779 exhaustive discussion, we may say that the newborn child is not considered a member of the society until it gets its name, and marriage is looked upon as a continuation of an alliance arrangement which was established in mythical time by other cultural exchanges, e.g., those of ceremonies and goods, rather than by the exchange of women and men.

Finally, the fact that one can have only one mother is terminologically expressed by the category imuga ("mother"), of which the only member is one's own mother.

Marriage

Ideally, marriage should be contracted with some of the lineages from the opposite moiety which are in yorubodare relationship ("alliance") to one's own lineage. Though, because of depopulation, this is rarely the case today, the Bororo are still proud when they can say: I mugu paga karegure, itoreduje apore imugure, ikoge, ivire, tadare imugure which can be translated, "I do not live in this place (his wife's house) just by chance. I stay with my wife, I stay among my spouses." It is difficult to render into English the Bororo paga which I translated "by chance." (The Brazilians have the adverb "a toa" that renders it better. This adverb is used very much by the Bororo when they speak Portuguese.) The sentence means that the man is married according to tradition. In saying "I stay with my wife," the Bororo means to say, "I stay with a woman who, by prescription, should be my wife." Every story which describes the establishment of special relationship between two clans by virtue of some gift has the same conclusion "... and so he made them his yorubodare ("allié"), his husbands, and his wives" (Oinore ure uyorubodaredo, ukogedo, uviredo apo).

A marriage ceremony is very simple. The mother of the girl brings food to the house of the boy, and, if he accepts the offer, he will eat the food (Colbacchini and Albisetti

585 1942: 39). If a child marriage is to be contracted, the [304] girl's family will ask her future husband, instead of her [224] brother, to pierce her ear lobes. A more elaborate ceremony is performed when the girl is given as a wife to the hunter who has killed a jaguar for some of her dead brothers. In this case, however, she is only one of the gifts that are given to him in exchange for the jaguar skin. The other gifts, bow and arrows and poari (a musical instrument) are obligatory. Of particular interest for us is the speech that one of the girl's brothers makes when he delivers her to the hunter. He says:

585
539 "This is your wife, stay with her. This is the place for your bow, for your arrow. Here is the place for you to eat nokodu, noa, noidoya, the place for you to eat moto[illegible] and honey. Here your ruwobo, your aria, your pori (different kinds of containers) are waiting for your fish, for your game. Here you will eat nokodu, noa, noidoya-metotadawu. You should look after this girl, take care of her, so that she will make kodo as your mat, beto as your blanket. She will make the basket where your arrows will stay. She will wash you and give you to drink. She will go to meet you when you come back from fishing or from the hunt, when you come back from the woods or the hills. You do not have a mother, older sister, or younger sister anymore. This girl will be your mother, your older sister, your younger sister. You should treat her with care. Do not scare her when she goes to get water, when she goes to get firewood. Do not scare her when she is eating fish or when she is eating meat. You should defend her from other bad women, from the things she is afraid of. Do not scare her. You will be her mother, her father, her brother, and she will love you with all her heart."[1]

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[1] Akoredujereo, awudo apore amugure, atugo pare, awoiga pare, ake nokodu, noa, noidoya jetareo, ake motore jetareo, ake miyawoe gigodugedu jetareo. Woere aruwobo, akaria, apori jeture ako karo togi, ako barogo togi. Woere a mode nokodu, noa, noidoya-metotadawu kowuje, woe. Awudojire aeture

593 It is considered highly improper behavior to go against
578 one's cross-siblings. Today, the Bororo frequently quarrel with their spouses when they are drunk, and infidelities, divorces, and remarriages are common. But in the resulting fights it is always the brothers and sisters who stand
593 against their respective spouses. There is no obligatory
[835] levirate among the Bororo and they condemn any sexual rela-
[522] tion with the brother's wife, although jokes between the two are allowed and expected. Brothers are supposed to make a common front against outsiders, and the sexual involvement of a man with his brother's wife would put a handicap on
[578] this. Most of the quarrels among the Bororo concern sexual
593 affairs. A man who is having sexual relations with his
835 brother's wife, but together with the brother goes against another man who is also having an affair with the same woman, could be asked by this last man: "Why are you going against me? You too have been sleeping with your brother's wife." The Bororo say that this would be shameful for both brothers.

587 On the other hand, a man who is very sick may call one
593 of his unmarried brothers and tell him that he is going to

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[585] akaiwore, uwo kodo towuje akudawuje, uwo beto towuje akudawuje,
[539] uwo atugo rakoja baku tovuje, uwo akaimo, uwo akududo. Awudo bogaire apoga mode akodadai akaregodui karo jao, barogo jao piji du tabo, akaregodui tori, itura piji du tabo. Kaje jawo karega aerudu kare ache, atuye makaguragai t akai duji. Awudore ache modema, aviye modema. Iyeripo tabo arore ji, akaba pagududo tudui poboto duji, tudui jerigi kae duji. Akaba pagududo tui ako karo kodu, ako barogo kodu ko duji. Jetuwo t akodoi tujeba areduji, tuyogudugodure ji boeji. Akaba pagududo, uchewo aki, uwowo aki, uyedagawo aki, uvuriwo aki, paduwo akujiyagi, jetuwo akodoi pudabo.

ily and the normal economic routine would be disrupted by internal conflict resulting from such a love affair.

There is no obligatory sororate among the Bororo, though the sororate is more frequent than the levirate. When the family of a deceased woman likes her husband very much, they try to keep him by offering to him in marriage the younger sister of the deceased. The girl's mother then goes to see his parents, taking as gifts some dishes she has made for the occasion. She explains that her family wants to keep him in the house. The new wife also prepares some dishes and cigars that her husband will take into the men's house and offer to his brothers. This is not a special procedure, but the usual one after any marriage. The small retribution in food and cigars is given by the husband to the men from his moiety to compensate them for the loss of an available sexual partner.

As a conclusion to this discussion of Bororo marriage, there are few things that I would like to point out. The formula that the Bororo sometimes use (see page 82) when a girl is given in marriage shows that the Bororo conceive the ideal husband-wife relationship on the model of the parent-child and cross-sibling relationships. This balance between cross-sibling and spouse solidarities is further attested by the Bororo residential pattern. Uxorilocal residence requires a man to leave his natal house and make his economic contribution to his wife's lineage. However, the multiclan, multivillage arrangement of settlements does not require that

Chapter VII

NAMING AND INITIATION

Naming

844 Birth and marriage have been regarded as private af-
585 fairs: in one the bilateral contribution required for the creation of a new being is recognized; in the other the continuation of traditional symmetrical alliances is reaf-
553 firmed. Naming and initiation are socially important rites
881 of bilateral acceptance into society. In the first instance, one is received into one's own matrilineage; in the second, special relationships are established with one's father's matrilineage. These, however, are not the only dimensions
[128] of the two rites. There are many others, some of which will be discussed in later chapters; here we will limit ourselves to these two.

553 According to custom, the namegiver must be one of the
[613] child's classificatory brothers from its own lineage. The change which occurs in kinship terminology between namegiver
553 and namereceiver has been mentioned before. The ceremony
562 for a male child is an elaborate one; only a brief outline of it will be given here. When the child is a girl the ceremony is much simpler.

among the Bororo, we saw that "husbands" and "wives" are theoretically members of those lineages, even though a person might have actually married elsewhere. Now, one's yorubodare, initiator (see page 64), should be also chosen from the members of those lineages. If we keep in mind the Bororo statement that they are the same persons as their ancestors, and that those ancestors were also husbands and wives, fathers and sons of the members of corresponding lineages in the opposite moiety, we can more easily understand another statement the Bororo make in reference to the lineages of preferential mutual exchange: "They are my yorubodare, my husbands and my wives, my fathers and my children."

While marriage is regarded as a private reenactment of mythical ties, initiation is the public reenactment of the same ties. Both institutions require the choice of one tie from among several possible, but while marriage can be and often is dissolved, the yorubodare relationship lasts throughout life.

The initiation ceremony itself is of such complexity and is comprised of so many symbolic acts that a full analysis cannot be given here. A good description of the ceremony can be found in the Enciclopedia Bororo, Volume I, pages 627-642. The Bororo of Pobojari and those of the villages that existed in the same area until recently abandoned it a long time ago. The last time the Bororo performed this ceremony was about thirty years ago in the village of Tori

Mature women, when menstruating, wear black loin cloths. For the first time the boy is shown the aije (bull-roarers) and the other secret ceremonies forbidden to women and children. He is also spatially leaving the women's domain; he is moving to the men's house. As he was born in the jungle, moved to the village and named, now he is passing from the periphery of the village to its center. Before the initiation ceremony, the sisters of his yorubodare pluck out all his body hair, for hair is an animal characteristic. He is made to jump over a fire. Cooking is a cultural process, and the boys in the initiation ceremonies are made cultural by being "cooked." When the decision for an initiation ceremony has been made, the men say, "Let us cook the boys" (pawo ipare ekowu).

Marriage is an anticlimax. The alliance with the other moiety has already been confirmed by the initiation ceremony; sexual needs are well attended to by the female associates in the men's house (Crocker 1969: 236-260) and by casual affairs, and now one must move again to the periphery, at least during the night. The continuity of the society must be assured; but it is not a thing to brag of, to extol with ceremonies, or to be proud of.

Finally death. The number and the meaning of funeral ceremonies lasting a month and a half and the number of songs, ornaments, food exchanges, and maternal lamentations would require the space of another book. With death a man's passage from one moiety to another is completed. He himself becomes the ancestor of the other moiety which he has im-

/129 cont./

584 Colbacchini (o.c., pp. 55 and 56) writes about the Bororo: "In general and in the majority of cases it is the woman who precedes the man in the marriage proposal. The young woman who feels led to esteem a young man and who wishes to be joined to him consults in particular the mother, if she is still alive, or the older sister. If such a proposal is well received by the mother, the latter will then take an active part in satisfying the daughter's wishes. She will then try to find out, among her friends and the lad's relatives, whether the daughter would be readily accepted as a wife. In the affirmative care, the mother and the daughter prepare some dishes which they judge or know will be to the taste of the young man, and the mother of the pretendant, or in her absence the older sister, knowing that the lad /130/ is home, goes at noon to look for him, taking the prepared delicacies, in a wicker basket, in order at the same time to make to him the proposal and official request. Upon entering the house, she will address the young man, who will be sitting near the fire working on the arrows; and she will say to him: -- A wogae i roino -- (I came looking for you) -- and she will make him the proposal. If the young man wishes to accept it, he will say nothing, but will stretch out his hand to receive the gift sent, which he will place at his side. And with this gesture the request is granted. The agreement concluded, jubilant with joy, she will immediately take the [591] good news to her daughter. Both the mother and the relatives of the bride then set about preparing the house, because it is [513] the custom that the man goes to live in the wife's house. They will prepare the fire, the straw mat for sleeping, the receptacle 584 for water; afterwards they will cook something and wait. At nightfall, the lad will retire to the bride's house and, without 585 saying anything, will enter and place himself beside the one who from this moment on is his wife. The mother or the sister will go to the house of the bridegroom to get what belongs

/130 cont./

584 to him: bows, arrows, etc., and they will take everything
585 to him, but they will not hand them over to him, but to the
[60] wife, who will receive and will place everything in order, while the husband will remain calmly near the fire. With this ceremony the marriage is settled; from that moment on they will live together, they will call each other by the names of It'ore-do, it'ore-duje (my wife, my husband)."

It is true that Colbacchini (o.c., p. 56) mentions that in certain cases the man also or only the parents might be the pretendant party.

[114] /131/ The report by Karl von den Steinen an the eastern Bororo visited by him differs in many things from Colbacchini's descriptions. He does not say a word about the initiative of the woman and only observes (o.c., p. 501): "The lads manage in time to find a wife, and with respect to this there are two [304] customs concerning the clothing. The ear lobes of the girl are pierced by the future husband (those of the lad by the father); if he himself does not marry her, his son will marry her. Whoever places a penis case on the lad "becomes related" to him and marries his sister or his aunt."

Von den Steinen (o.c., p. 500) even speaks of stealing women within the tribe and mentions that only part of the men had a wife permanently.

562 What this German explorer is able to tell about the
831 young women in the men's house is interesting (o.c., p. 502):
[302] "The young women, in part, are brought in publicly during the day and painted and adorned, playing and joking; in part they are taken later, at night. One night we saw how the bachelors who had been lying in front of the quarters fell upon the crowd of women who were coming back from a mourning gathering. Two were caught after a silent struggle, wrapped in blankets so that they were unrecognizable, and taken to the men's house. But one of the two was, as we saw

Brazil.

584 The betrothal is consummated by the bridegroom-to-be, depositing at the entrance to the hut of the parents of the baby girl whom he desires shall one day become his wife, some much-prized game that he has had the "good luck" to capture. The parents of course learn, either directly or indirectly, what his wishes are in making them this valuable present; and if they do not object to the nuptials, their little daughter is reserved
585 for him. Again, some day, after the child has reached the age of ten or twelve years, the groom-to-be deposits at the entrance to her hut a highly prized fish or animal which he has had the good fortune to capture, then retires to his own hut. The father of the little maid now takes her by the wrist—always the wrist—conducts her to the entrance of the hut of her betrothed husband and delivers her to him, and she becomes his lawful, wedded wife without further ceremony.
582 He may be forty or fifty years of age, and have already a wife
554 and married children, though, nevertheless, allowed to have
595 two wives because he has slain the jaguar, or performed some other feat of valor, or because he is a captain, having passed middle life.

616 The inhabitants of every Bororó village are divided into two groups, called the *Sheraidi*, and the *To Nagarêda*, and a man is not permitted to take a wife from his own division, so must go to the other party for one. It is said that the Bororó tribe as it now exists is composed of two tribes that joined fortunes long ago, and that this is the origin of the *Sheraidi* and *To Nagarêda* divisions. But I doubt if this is true, for a similar social arrangement exists among other tribes. The Bororó have a tradition that centuries ago the *Sheraidi* possessed everything that the *braidi*—white man—now possesses, such as axes, hoes, knives, but that a calamity befell them because they had these things, so they forsook them. Perhaps the tribe was once in touch with the Inca civilization of the Andean slope.

222 After marriage, the Bororó child-wife may be seen with a
595 small basket upon her back, suspended as usual by a bark strap from the forehead, accompanying her old husband's senior

584 Young men choose their future wives. When a young man finds a girl he likes he paints himself, puts on all his decorations, goes to the girl's house, and sleeps on the girl's mat all night, but without touching her. Next morning the parents of the girl ask her if she wishes to marry the young man. If the girl agrees, her mother orders the young man to go out hunting. The mother observes the young man's behavior and success in hunting. [585] When the young man has brought in enough game he is permitted to sleep with the girl and is thereafter considered her husband. He remains with his [591] in-laws and is treated like a son, for if the father-in-law has sons of his own they go out in marriage. [606] Mothers-in-law appear to be important in men's lives, for one man told me that when one goes into the spirit world one asks first about one's mother-in-law.

763 When a person is dying the relatives begin to wail around his mat. The friends of the dying then come and participate in the wailing. A relative of the dying person then selects a non-
764 relative to bury the corpse. This man, who is called *motohdto*, asks other men to help him and they dig a grave about 5 feet deep in the floor of the house using sword clubs for digging. The body is then painted and the decorations are put on, the bow and a few arrows are laid beside him so they rest on his right shoulder, and the sword club is placed on his chest. He is then sewn up in four layers of sleeping mats (*púpurúna*) and is lowered into the grave. A woman is similarly wrapped in mats, and a digging stick is placed with her. The grave is left open for one day so that friends and relatives can continue crying over it. The
768 people build a new house nearby but keep the old one repaired for as long as a year, depending upon how well the deceased person was regarded by his or her relatives.

775 Men enter the spirit world armed so that they can defend themselves. The digging stick which the women take is also used for defence. If men quarrel and fight while living, the loser dreams that when he dies he will turn into a jaguar or a snake and will lie in wait for his enemy's ghost. When this ghost enters the spirit world he will kill it. This is why men must be armed. The Umotina stated that their greatest fear was about their own souls after death. If a person injured